7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm coccoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a nonma-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 369 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

461 556 302

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munṣif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munṣif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

[494]

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munṣif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.